

CONGRESS OF MICRONESIA:
POPULATION POLICY IN MICRONESIA

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CONGRESS OF MICRONESIA: POPULATION POLICY IN MICRONESIA

I. INTRODUCTION

During the period after World War II in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (hereafter called "Micronesia"), the indigenous population more than doubled such that currently it is approximately 115,000. During the late 1940s and early 1950s the annual growth rate of 1.5-2.0% was typical. However, by the late 1960s the annual growth rate of the population ranged around 3.0%.¹

It is difficult to project the direction of Micronesia's growth rate into the 1970s because of what appears conflicting in the vectors that affect the determinants of population change. For example, in 1966 the Secretary of the U.S. Department of the Interior issued a memorandum to all U.S. overseas territories, including Micronesia, to institute in their health services a voluntary, "go-slow" program of family planning. Tables 1-6 may indicate some measurable success in this program.² However, that some of the age-specific birth rates (ASBR) in the late 1960s for the Marianas (15-19 years), Yap (15-19, 20-24, and 35-39 years), and Ponape (20-24, 25-29 years) may reveal some non-use of family planning methods demonstrates further that population growth, especially due to fertility among women in their most reproductive years, may continue at annual rates around 3.0% per year.

Moreover, infant mortality rates³ continue to decline, due to

improved maternal and child health services and to general public health programs. From 1957 to 1960 the annual infant mortality rates fluctuated narrowly around 40.0 infant deaths per 1000 livebirths. In 1968 it had decreased to 32.6. It can be expected that the infant mortality rate will continue to decline during the 1970s.

Nevertheless, inter-island migration continues to draw off populations from outer islands to district centers where an urban setting may contribute to changes in people's motivation for lower fertility levels.⁴ According to Pirie, approximately 60% of Micronesia's population live in and around district centers.⁵ Some among those defined by Pirie as urban majority may consider a reduction in their personal levels of fertility, although the 40% minority may not do so.

I don't recall saying this - the actual proportion is about 40%.

The foregoing examples are inconclusive. However, they illustrate the difficulty of defining a "population problem" for Micronesia. It is useful, therefore, to project population changes into the 1970s based on a careful investigation of certain variables that may determine the direction and rate of change. Of course, it would require an interminable amount of research to seek pertinent data for all determinants of population change. Therefore, it is further proposed that this paper will be restricted to the following spheres of investigation:

- (1) Population policy as demonstrated by legal or legislative behavior by members in the Congress of Micronesia,
- (2) Population variable of fertility, but not of migration or mortality,

- (3) Selected determinants of fertility as defined by recent demographic theories,
- (4) Macrocosmic survey of all Micronesia, rather than a study of district differentials, and
- (5) Comparative analysis of Micronesia with international data.

These restrictions and their shortcomings shall be discussed below.

II. POPULATION POLICY

The term "population planning" has often been used synonymously--and erroneously too--as "population control"⁶ or, more specifically, "family planning".⁷ In general, current population policies are concerned with only the growth and size of populations. Therefore, population planning should incorporate research and policy analysis of overall attributes of a population: age structure, sex composition, genetic quality, and population size and rate of growth. Because of this misconception, family planning--very popular today--is often regarded as the only way to reach the demographic goal of lower levels of fertility, thus disregarding the adoption by private and public agencies of other means of population planning.

Hardee and Saunders recommend that several questions should be asked by any organization seeking population planning:⁸

- (1) What is happening in population?

This question probes descriptively demographic characteristics of a population in any given area.

- (2) How is it happening?

In this case, rates of population change are sought. Of especial interest are the rates of fertility, migration and mortality changes.

- (3) What do present conditions and trends lead to?

Primarily, demographers attempt to seek correlations, and some-

times causality, between population variables and social and economic characteristics such as education, employment, residential arrangements, etc.

- (4) What are implications of what is going on in population?

Projections are necessary in demography in seeking probable changes in the social, economic and political spheres in a population.

Often recommendations are provided government agencies by population planners.

Given satisfactory and reliable answers to these questions, population planning can be begun in earnest by whatever agency seeks to define a population problem for an area and to offer suggestions for solutions in policies and programs. For this paper, the definition of population policy shall be that of Berelson's:⁹

"governmental actions that are designed to alter population events or that actually do alter them."

Delimiting operational definitions of population policy are as follows:

- (1) Governmental actions:

Although any governmental unit can recommend population policy and programs,¹⁰ for this paper it shall be defined as the legal or legislative behavior of the Congress of Micronesia during the period 1963 to 1972.¹¹

- (2) Population events:

The three major population components are fertility, migration, and mortality. For this paper, only the first shall be considered.

First of all, increased rural emigration to district centers has accelerated the population growth of a few islands, such as Saipan, Koror, Yap Island, Moen, Ponape, and Majuro.¹² Moreover, there is inter-district migration which cannot affect the total population of Micronesia. Only migration into and from Micronesia can influence the rate of population change for the entire territory. However, international migration still remains relatively minor in determining Micronesia's population change. Secondly, it has been accepted by almost all governments in the world, including Micronesia's, that mortality should be reduced as much as possible, especially through the services of public health. Based on the assumptions that crude death rates in Micronesia shall stabilize around 5-6 deaths per 1000 persons during the 1970s and that infant mortality rates shall continue to decline, this paper shall focus on congressional behavior that affects fertility. It is not to be assumed, however, that these three population components can be studied independently of each other. Throughout this paper it will be necessary to discuss all three components as they interrelatedly affect and are affected by social, economic and political activities in Micronesia.

(3) Intentions and Consequences:

Berelson's definition of population policy seems to differentiate ^{There two are} ~~different~~ ^{Berelson} between what the government intentionally designs in order to alter ^{camp} ~~them~~ ^{to get} as "population policy".

population events and what alters them, serendipitously or not.

Therefore, consequences of governmental actions may not represent what is intended, in terms of deliberate design, or these consequences may occur even though legislative behavior fails to consider their possible occurrence. It is to be assumed that legislative behavior in the Congress of Micronesia is desired intention, whether or not its demographic consequences are deliberately sought or not.

III. POLICY AND DETERMINANTS OF FERTILITY LEVELS

During the past 30 years demographers have argued the topic of what can best decelerate rapid growth of populations in developing countries.

Notestein comments:

"If relief from population pressure is the goal, it is dangerous to continue frittering away the productive power of modern techniques in a social setting calculated to maintain high fertility. There is urgent need to apply in synchronized fashion every device for the creation of a social setting favorable to reduced fertility. This in fact would require a complete and integrated program of modernization."¹³

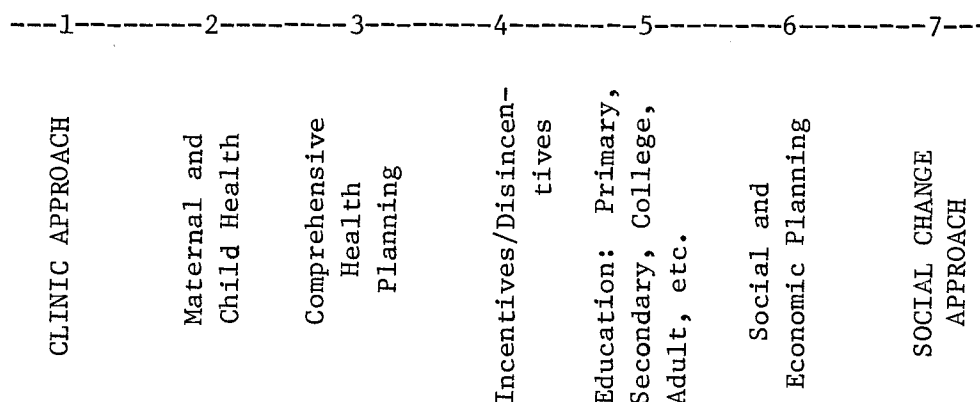
By the mid-1960s even the United Nations sought concerted efforts by governments to institute family planning programs. It supported a declaration by heads of states, including the United States, that family planning is a basic human right. Moreover, in 1968 in Teheran the unanimous adoption of a resolution by the U.N. Conference on Human Rights that the knowledge of family planning is a basic human right indicates widespread support for this particular means of organization and technology to reduce fertility levels.¹⁴

However, Eldridge states that the desired effects of population policy--through family planning--to reduce fertility levels is inconclusive.¹⁵ Conversely, though, Borrie finds that even special "pro-natalist" measures by the State have not had marked effects on raising levels of fertility.¹⁶

What, then, can be done to produce significant declines in fertility? Blake has attempted to clarify this question and offered means

to redirect population policy. She argues that the bipolarity of methods to lower fertility--on one hand, the "modernization and economic development" approach which stresses changes in social and economic setting; and on the other hand, the "education and information technology of family planning" approach which attempts to use personal family planning to provide national population control or planning--is misled.¹⁷ However, her principal conclusion is that an expansion of competition of women's non-familial roles and attitudes with familial ones can be instituted with policies directed at increasing female participation in the non-familial labor force, at increasing the economic costs and decreasing the non-economic assets of having many children.¹⁸

Hauser, however, has developed a more holistic approach in determining the sociological areas in which fertility can be affected.¹⁹ He has assigned these areas on a continuum as follows:



He values both the "family planning/clinic approach" and the "social change" approach but cautions that primary reliance on only one will fail. The farther along the continuum one goes in instituting policies and programs, the more the approach is in the direction of effecting social change as a factor in inducing change in the individual or couple behavior.

Very specific measures or means to accomplish programs along the continuum can be found in Berelson's typology, as shown in Appendix A.²⁰ Using both Hauser's and Berelson's frameworks, this paper now explores how legislative behavior in the Congress of Micronesia has been designed to alter population events, intentionally or not, in this case--fertility.

IV. CONGRESS OF MICRONESIA

In 1953 the South Pacific Commission held its Second South Pacific Conference in which the topic of population brought about a keen debate.²¹ A delegate from Tonga presented a paper which stressed the need for improved standardization of censusing and for solutions to overcrowding. His recommendations were migration to less crowded islands and intensive agriculture.

The Nauruan delegation supported the idea of migration for its own people such that "a new home be found for the people of the group... where resources would be adequate for an increasing population". It further opposed birth control, but the delegation from the Gilbert & Ellice Islands defended it "as the only rational means of limiting population after it reached the optimum level relative to resources".

The American Samoan delegation also opposed birth control, not only on moral grounds but also on the explicit assumption that a larger population was highly desirable.

The Micronesian delegation²² warned the conferees that imbalances in standards of living and available resources would result from population pressures.

However, major conclusions of the conference in respect to population included:

- (1) Rejection of migration because it would create a "brain drain" of the sending population,

- (2) Development of available resources to provide adequate standards of living for the population, and
- (3) Manpower development to increase agricultural and technological productivity.

Ten years later, the Council of Micronesia in its 3rd Session (March 19-26, 1963) was discussing population but hardly in any fashion related to population policy and fertility. On March 22, Trukese representative Tosiwo Nakayama introduced population as a concern for discussing legislative apportionment.²³ In the 4th Session (November 12-21, 1963) discussion on apportionment by population continued.²⁴ Palauan representative Roman Tmetuchl preferred an eventual unicameral territorial Congress based on district representation but not on population size. Representatives Max Iriarte and J. Sigrah from Ponape District preferred bicamerality based on population size per district.

During the 4th Session, two other topics involved a discussion on population. First of all, Resolution #5-63 (November 19), relating to human resources development, included one statement declaring that the population of Micronesia is "so small that every effort must be made to utilize it to its utmost advantage". It is not farfetched to conclude that the 1953 South Pacific Conference recommendations were being seconded in this resolution.

Secondly, Recommendation #9-63 (November 19) relating to Hospital Construction, included one statement declaring that population increase

in each district had rendered existing hospitals inadequate. This recommendation appears more like a palliative rather than solution, because its only concern was for hospital construction without mention of training of personnel in medical services, including family planning.

During the next eight years, the Congress of Micronesia deliberated certain policies which had effect upon population. In order to systematize these discussions, this paper will categorize legislative behavior as they fit Berelson's proposals in Appendix A.

V. BERELSON'S PROPOSALS

A. Extension of Voluntary Fertility Control

Berelson's first recommendation was institutionalization of maternal and child health services in rural areas. The Senate Interim Committee submitted on February 28, 1967 its Report to the Senate of the Congress of Micronesia, recommending social and economic ways to develop Micronesia. In the section on Public Health, it states:

"One significant point can be made regarding the public health programs in the Trust Territory; there is no well organized, systematic, well rounded public health program. This is particularly true in the area of tuberculosis,..., maternal and child health, family planning and many others".

On July 15, 1969 the High Commissioner presented his State of the Territory message to a joint session of the Congress.²⁵ In respect to health services, he stated that Micronesia became a member of the U.S. Public Health Service, Region 9 in which maternal and child health is offered. However, no further mention throughout the 1965 to 1972 Journals and Proceedings, Laws and Resolutions of the Congress is found on maternal and child health specifically.

Although steps were taken to improve medical services in areas other than district centers, nothing more on maternal and child health can be detected in the Congress' actions.²⁰

Legalization of induced abortion, Berelson's second recommendation, received much discussion in the Congress. During its Third Region Session (July 10-August 8, 1967), Senate Bill #14 was introduced, a "Bill

for an act to amend Section 405 of the Code of the Trust Territory to allow abortion of a pregnant woman under certain prescribed circumstances".

On July 24, Senate Bill #14, Senate Draft #1 was debated on the floor. Three major questions arose. First of all, the definition of "next of kin" was questioned for approval of abortion for a minor. It was amended to include "husband or next of kin" for any minor seeking abortion.

Secondly, according to the Senate Committee Report #6, from the Committee on Education, Health, and Social Affairs,²⁷ Senate Bill #14 would delineate legal conditions and circumstances by which licensed medical officers could perform abortions. Senator F. Nuuan added: "This constitutes a safeguard for the practitioner so that an emergency abortion can be brought about to save the patient".

Thirdly, Senate Bill #14, Senate Draft #2 was again debated on July 26. The Senators sought legislative counseling and advice from the Micronesian Medical Association. With recommendation from medical officers in the Senate, Senate Bill #14, Senate Draft #2 was referred back to the introducer and the Micronesian Medical Association for further comment and recommendation by that body for action in the 4th Session.

During the 4th Congress, First Regular Session (January 11-February 20, 1971), Senate Bill #12 was introduced by Senator Petrus Tun, a "bill to repeal Section 51 of Chapter 3 of Title 11 of the Trust

Territory Code relating to abortion and to enact a new section 51 in lieu thereof". After passing first reading on January 13, it was assigned to the Committee on Judiciary and Governmental Operations²⁸ where it remained until the Congress was adjourned.

It is difficult to explicate the non-return of Senate Bill #12 to the Senate floor for further debate. However, three possible reasons will suffice at this time. Its referral to the Committee on Judiciary and Governmental Operations is a questionable behavior. Although it would have dealt with repealing a law, its content was essentially that of health and should have been referred to the Committee on Health on which some Senators with medical background served. Moreover, the Senate received Miscellaneous Communication #17 (dated February 12), transmitting Resolution #4, 1971 from the Marianas District Legislature, relating to disapproval of Senate Bill #12 on legalization of certain cases of abortion. The House of Representatives received a similar communication on the same date. This lobbying pressure may have been effective.

Thirdly, before the 4th Congress, 4th Special Session (May 5-22, 1971) met on Moen, the Senate received Miscellaneous Communication #15 (Dated April 21, 1971) from the Micronesian Medical Association regarding Senate Bill #12. It provided medical advice on abortion, possibly as a result of a request by the Committee on Judiciary and Governmental Operations earlier.

During the 4th Congress, 2nd Regular Session (January 10-February 28, 1972) in Palau, Senate Bill #136, similar to Senate Bill #14 (1971), was introduced by Senators Tun and Isaac Lanwi and referred to the Committee on Health. The Senate Committee Report #67 on Senate Bill #136 was submitted to the Senate floor and defended by Senator Lanwi, Chairman of the Committee on Health:

"...abortion in Micronesia was practiced since the beginning of creation, but, since the war, the U.S. Administration came in and made laws against abortion in the Trust Territory. The report is self-explanatory. I think the members of the Senate will want to take time and study the bill again....Your Committee on Health has studied it and found out that abortion was legal in Micronesia according to various customs and culture and, even now, in the district hospitals and district centers it is practiced, or performed, if the physician finds out that it is necessary to do so but, under the present law, the meaning of the word 'unlawfully' is not defined very well to many people because if a person or persons or physician performs any abortion, then it is illegal.

"The intent of the bill is to legalize the illegality of the practice of Micronesian people and doctors, and pregnant women too. There are some amendments made...especially where a section is deleted and a new one inserted to read:

"The Congress of Micronesia hereby grants express authority to the several districts to enact legislation concerning abortion, subject to the power of the Congress of Micronesia to legislate on such subject in the future'."

In the floor debate, Senator Olympia Borja of the Marianas expressed his personal bias against abortion but concurred that each district should decide for itself. He added that the Congress of Micronesia should encourage population growth, reinforcing the need for a larger population such as what the 1953 American Samoan delega-

tion to the Second South Pacific Conference had recommended. Senator Edward Pengelinan argued on three points: that abortion has moral and social implications, that individual licensed physicians would establish a mecca in Micronesia for the purpose of committing abortion, and that abortion acts in violation of the "rights of the fetus" to be protected.

Senate Bill #136, Senate Draft #1 was recommitted to the Committee on Health. The second Committee Report (#83) dated February 3, 1971 on Senate Bill #136, Senate Draft #1 disagreed that Micronesia would become an abortion haven and also stated that, since the U.S. Supreme Court had just issued its sweeping decision on abortion a few days earlier, then today no abortion committed in Micronesia is illegal, since the law itself had been declared illegal. After a brief floor discussion, by a vote of 9 ayes, 1 no, and 2 excused, Senate Bill #136, Senate Draft #1 passed second and final reading.

In the House of Representatives, the bill was referred to its Committee on Health Matters.²⁹ The House Committee Report #160 relating to Senate Bill #136, Senate Draft #1, Senate Draft #2, stated:

"The progress of this bill through the Senate was arduous, and debate was always heated and bitter, reflecting the rigid Roman Catholic doctrine which dogmatically prohibits abortion in any form whatsoever, on the one hand, and the more lenient, liberal attitude of the traditional cultures of Micronesia which place no restrictions at all upon abortion...."

This report was signed by all Committee members, except Representative

Fidel Atalig of the Marianas who did not concur. It does not seem difficult to understand why not since the rather subjectively worded report may have offended the heavily Roman Catholic Mariana Islands District which Representative Atalig represented.

Senate Bill #136, Senate Draft #1, Senate Draft #2 passed first reading on February 14. The next day, Representative John Mangefel of Yap argued that

"Religion should not be the major aspect....We are not in the business of setting forth moral codes for our people."

Instead, he defended the need to protect medical practitioners in their de facto performance of abortion in hospitals and to allow each district legislature "the authority to enact abortion legislation more suitable to local practices, customs, and beliefs."

However, Representatives Olter Paul of Ponape and Ray Setik of Truk argued that the Congress of Micronesia was evading responsibility because it could not deal with the issue and was "passing the buck" to the district legislatures. On a motion to defer the bill to the end of the Calendar, a voice vote was taken, and the motion was approved.

Minimal institutionalization of maternal and child health, which does not include a comprehensive family planning program, and the lack of liberalization of induced abortion reflect negative legislative behavior toward population control policy, although there are indications that there is an attitude among a few members of the Congress of Micro-

nesia that population growth should be decelerated, religion notwithstanding.

B. Establishment of Involuntary Fertility Control

Related to Berelson's recommendations in this category, no legislative behavior was shown. Coercive action has not been demonstrated. However, during the 3rd Region Session (July 10-August 8, 1967) on August 2, Senate Bill #67--to provide birth certification for a child upon proof of legitimation or adoption--was discussed. The Committee on Education, Health, and Social Affairs recommended passage, but Senator Olter of Ponape asked how it would be possible to legitimize an illegitimate child and suggested that "This law would only encourage illegitimate babies". By a vote of 6 ayes and 6 no, the motion was defeated.

Although Olter's statement on the causal relationship between the bill and encouragement of illegitimacy is questionable, his desire to see a reduction in illegitimacy rates is an initial step for legislative behavior favoring establishment of involuntary fertility control for pregnant women due to give birth to an illegitimate child. However, it seems most unlikely that such a direction will be taken during the next decade.

C. Intensified Educational Campaigns

There was very little legislative behavior demonstrated by the Congress in respect to content of education, except for languages and the general topic of human resources development. Topics of sex education, family planning, and population vs. resources were never discussed in the context of educational needs for Micronesia.

D. Incentive Programs

Again, the Congress provided no direction in developing incentive programs for adopting population control or family planning methods. Therefore, its legislative behavior can be termed "lack of incentives", in further terms of population policy for decreased fertility. Its lack of incentive programs would, then, be qualified as population policy for increasing levels of fertility.

E. Disincentive Programs

However, the Congress can also be described as lacking in disincentive programs. Numerous examples can be cited to demonstrate how its actions will encourage higher levels of fertility.

1. Public Health and Welfare

From 1963 to 1973 the Congress has overwhelmingly supported the need for public health services. Some of its first legislative behaviors relating to public health occurred during the 1st General and

Special Sessions (Summer 1965): (a) Assembly Joint Resolution #27-- to request the High Commissioner to provide expansion and improvement of public health and medical services and facilities throughout Micronesia; (b) Delegate Resolution #28--to request Micronesian Airlines to provide "mercy flights" servicing free of charge when evacuating patients; and (c) Assembly Joint Resolution #9, Assembly Draft #1--to request hospital construction to meet the demands placed on medical services due to population growth and increase each year.

Hospital construction received much support from the High Commissioner and the Congress.³⁰ However, in all cases, defense in floor debate for these bills and resolutions utilized population size and growth for each of the islands selected for hospital construction.

The topic of venereal diseases, which may lower levels of fertility, was also discussed. House Resolution #17 in the 1st Congress, 2nd Regular Session (July 11-August 9, 1966) was adopted, requesting the High Commissioner to establish a central public health laboratory in Micronesia to test for water, venereal diseases, urine, blood, etc. More specifically, in the 4th Congress, 1st Regular Session (January 11-February 20, 1971) Senate Bill #67 and House Bill #52 were introduced by Senator Rafael Moonfell and Representative John Rugulimar of Yap, respectively. Both bills sought to add a new subchapter to Title 63, Chapter I of the Trust Territory Code to provide for the treatment and prevention of venereal diseases. Both were filed because another Senate

bill for disease treatment and prevention was more comprehensive and inclusive of other diseases. Removal of venereal diseases would tend to increase the level of fertility.

2. Education and Welfare

Education too has received considerable attention among members of the Congress. In defense for more school construction, better facilities and equipment, and improved teaching and curricula, Congressmen argued that present and projected school populations were growing beyond what is already provided for in education.³¹ An excellent summary of this problem comes from Senate Bill #10 (adopted January 24) during the 3rd Congress, 1st Regular Session (January 13-27, 1969), seeking U.S. federal legislation inclusion of grants to Micronesian education:

"...Micronesia still lacks the resources to assure an adequate education for every child, and too many classrooms are overcrowded; schools cannot afford cost or find room for the growing number of students seeking admissions in the 1970s...."

Very few would argue that education should be curtailed just because the population grows quickly, but one long-range solution not seen by the Congressmen is fertility control to prevent a burgeoning primary school population during the 1970s.

3. Salaries and Welfare

Senate floor discussion on Delegate Resolution #31 during the 1st General and Special Sessions (Summary 1965), relating to increasing salaries of certain Micronesian government employees, centered on two

issues: family-size and cost of living. After Senator Lanwi of the Marshalls noted that "most government employees have large families", Senator Nuuan criticized those who had large families: "these employees should help themselves first before they are helped....the fact they have large families indicates that something is wrong somewhere as far as these employees are concerned."

During the same session, Assembly Joint Resolution #1, seeking standards for minimum wages, was based partly on the statistic that an average family had about seven persons.

Senator Nuuan's comment, somewhat supportive of the need for fertility control, highlights an essential problem in attempting to determine social and economic policies without demographic projections and concerted efforts to define concomitant population policies. Increasing minimum wages, in the attitude of some Congressmen, is a means to alleviate population pressures on family resources. Although it is only a palliative, reliance on increasing family resources, in terms of salaries and wages, without equal concern on decreasing population pressures merely reinforces the spiraling effect of need to increase family salaries and wages once more.

4. Taxes and Welfare

During the 1st General and Special Sessions (Summary 1965) the Assembly members debated the issue of taxation as a source of government revenues. The proposed abolition of the copra processing tax and ini-

tiation of a tax on salaries, wages and gross revenue businesses were discussed. However, Delegate Bill #21--to provide a levy of a 10% tax for export on copra, trochus shell and scrap metal--was approved on August 25, 1965 by the High Commissioner.

During the 3rd Regular Session (July 10-August 8, 1967) House Bill #85, a bill for an act providing for the levy of compensation and dividends tax, raised much heated debate. On August 4, Representative Carlos Camacho of the Marianas argued that such a tax was premature and difficult for people with 6-8 children in the average family to accept. Representative Ambilos Iehsi of Ponape added that this bill would affect a man who had a large family of children the same as a single man and would be discriminatory. However, Representative Ekpap Silk of the Marshalls defended the bill:

"...most Micronesians have six or more children and if people wanted to assure the future of their children, they had to pay the price for it."

However, House Bill #85 was deferred.

During the 3rd Special Session (January 12-30, 1970) Senate Bill #6, Senate Draft #1--to provide for a graduated income tax--recommended a levy of 2-6% tax on individual income and 4% tax on corporate gross profit income, but it did not pass the Congress. A similar bill with different graduated scales (Senate Bill #161, Senate Draft #1) was discussed in the 3rd Congress, 3rd Regular Session (July 13-August 26, 1970). In the 4th Congress, 1st Regular Session (January 11-February 20,

1971) Senate Bill #4 was introduced to levy a flat rate of 3% on all salaries and wages and of 1% on gross revenues for businesses. Although Senate Bill #4, Senate Draft #1 passed the Senate, in the House it was amended. Upon return to the Senate, the two members from the Marianas presented an opposing viewpoint to the intent of the bill. Senator Borja reiterated that a man with a large family would be unfairly burdened with extreme hardship because the bill did not provide for exemptions for dependents. Senator Pangelinan concurred.

Their opposition can be described as attempts to eliminate consideration of population policy wherein removal of exemptions for dependents after a certain number of children acts as a disincentive toward large family sizes. However, their argument is consistent with prior points raised by the delegation from the Marianas District in other Congressional sessions to expand the population size of Micronesia, rather than to curtail its rate of growth by discouraging large family sizes.

During the 4th Congress, 4th Special Session (May 5-22, 1971) on Moen, Representative Sasauo Haruo of Truk reiterated the Marianas delegation's viewpoint in defense of House Bill #113, House Draft #1--a bill to amend Public Law 4C-2 on flat-rate taxes on salaries, wages and gross revenues of businesses. In the Senate, a similar bill, Senate Bill #116, recommended a \$300 deduction per year for each dependent of a government employee. However, Senator Borja defended this bill, not

with usual examples of a large family of 6-8 children, but with an example of a 10-children family this time.

The Senators from Ponape added further comments on Senate Bill #116 which are rather enlightening. Senator Bailey Olter, probably facetiously, mentioned that he favored tax deductions "because I have three mothers, three fathers, and 18 kids and I won't pay tax." More insightful, though, was Senator Iehsi's comment:

"I understand in our family system we have so many people and the average family is 9 people in some districts and in others there are families composed of 16 or 17 people, excluding the brothers and sisters and what not. My point is that if we deduct for dependents, then maybe we are encouraging people to have bigger families."

Senate Bill #116, Senate Draft #1 was recommitted to the Committee on Ways and Means, and further action in the 1971 session was deferred.

Of great significance, though, was Senator Iehsi's awareness of the relationship between taxation with exemption and removal of disincentives toward large family sizes.³² However, no legislative behavior involved consideration of taxation on births after a specified number of births per family, or a direct reversal of tax benefits to favor the unmarried or parents with fewer children.³³

5. Social Security and Welfare

During the 1st General and Special Sessions (Summary 1965) Assembly Joint Resolution #17 was introduced, requesting the High Commissioner to establish and administer a social security program and old-age assistance for qualified Micronesians. In the 3rd Regular Session (July 10-

August 8, 1967) the Senate discussed Senate Bill #71, relating to establishing such a program. The eventual establishment of a Social Security System proved unsatisfactory such that, during the 3rd Congress, 3rd Special Session (January 12-30, 1970), House Bill #12, House Draft #1 was approved on February 13, 1970 as Public Law 3C-48 amending the Social Security Act to increase length of time in which children may receive survivors' benefits and to extend coverage to agricultural workers and certain self-employed persons.

Lyons stated that social welfare, as well as income tax systems, may favor large families.³⁴ His basic argument was that social security, as a form of welfare, may tend to relieve the pressure on the family head to provide adequate sustenance for himself in the future regardless of family size. Eldridge is more affirmative in her analysis:

"The attempt to sustain or increase the birth rate became linked to the development of social security programmes, particularly those aspects of social security that contribute to the economic security of the family."³⁵

It is difficult to assess the relationship between social security and a young adult's desire to have a small or a large family. After all, without public social security, a young adult's choice to have many children may assure him (her) of old-age assistance in the family upon his (her) retirement from active economic participation. In the case of Micronesia's Public Law 3C-48, Micronesians may see a dual advantage in having public social security and traditional large families for old-age

assistance. Therefore, a tentative conclusion is that the establishment of public social security in Micronesia may possibly not encourage a decrease in family size, although it would be better to have it than not, in terms of population policy directed toward lower levels of fertility.

If an amendment to Public Law 3C-48 can be provided, such that an additional pension be established as social security for old age, for poor parents with fewer than a specified number of children, then it is possible that social security may serve the interests of those who seek smaller family sizes. If they, as young adults, have smaller family sizes and can improve their economic statuses, their old age may not be so economically unstable. If they do not fare so well economically, this additional pension will help alleviate financial difficulties.

6. Homsteading and Welfare

One of the first legislative behaviors in the Congress relating to increasing appropriations and to opening up public lands for homesteading occurred during the 1st Regular and Special Sessions (Summer 1965). Delegate Joint Resolution #13 (approved August 2) sought homestead lands for an increasing population that was still heavily dependent on livelihood from farming and for economic growth that could be derived from agriculture. The Senate Interim Committee's Report to the Senate in 1967 recommended acceleration of surveying, monumenting, mapping and recording of land titles and ownership in order to determine which public lands could be developed for both village and agricultural

homesteading for an increasing population. House Interim Committee submitted the same recommendation to its House of Representatives.

However, in his State of the Territory message at the 3rd Regular Session (July 10-August 8, 1967) the High Commissioner stressed the need to retain some surplus public lands because

"It would be shortsighted...if some of the 'public land' were not held in reserve for future public uses as the rapidly expanding population requires additional public facilities."

During this session, though, the Senate urged, in its Senate Joint Resolution #6, the High Commissioner to designate more public lands for homesteading.

During the next few years, the Congress sought to establish homestead land on certain islands, such as Rota, Ponape, and Saipan.³⁶

It seems obvious that village homesteading would serve as a temporary catharsis for relieving population pressures on already densely settled areas. In fact, this type of policy-making reinforces population distribution policy wherein equitable population dispersal and settlement is sought in order to alleviate urban pressures in a few areas.³⁷ However, as a program in general population policy, in respect to fertility, it is merely a temporary expedient, but possibly a necessary one in order for economic development to receive greater priority as population pressures are relaxed and more homestead land opened. In this respect, Freedman and Takeshita's suggestion for a successful outcome of fertility control is appropriate:

"...increasing birth control practice and declining birth rates occur only when a society has reached a minimal level of development and social change not yet found in many of these other countries."³⁸

In general, the lack of disincentive programs regarding fertility in Micronesia has characterized legislative behavior in the Congress of Micronesia. Thus far, it is typical of the legislative behavior of the Congress to respond negatively to proposals for lower levels of fertility through extension of voluntary fertility control, establishment of involuntary fertility control, intensified educational campaigns, and incentive programs.

F. Shifts in Social and Economic Institutions

As Freedman and Takeshita suggested above, a minimal level of development and social change must be achieved before birth control practice and declining birth rates can occur. However, Hauser explains that it must be achieved concurrently with programs established along the "holistic approach" continuum--such as medical-oriented programs of family planning, maternal and child health services and comprehensive health services; incentive and disincentive programs; and education at all levels. After all, as Davis explains, in the case of the clinic approach:

"The things that make family planning acceptable are the very things that make it ineffective for population control. By stressing the right of parents to have the number of children they want, it evades the basic question of population policy, which is how to give societies the number of children they need. By

offering only the means for couples to control fertility, it neglects the means for societies to do so."³⁹

Already discussed in previous sections of this paper were legislative behaviors of the Congress of Micronesia that alter fertility levels. In most cases thus far, legislative behaviors have tended to increase fertility levels. This section will deal, first of all, with an understanding of how certain social and economic institutional changes can possibly affect levels of fertility insofar as family structure is concerned, and then with legislative behavior of the Congress that applies to these changes.

Population policy may be directed toward affecting reproductive motivation by increasing alternative social and economic roles and satisfactions in the family and thereby letting these compete with traditional familial ones. First of all, although economic utilities of children are present, two major means are available to policy-makers: to decrease economic utility of children⁴⁰ and to decrease the non-economic utility of children also. Schultz has identified two specific operational opportunities for accomplishing this: by increasing compulsory school attendance and thus by decreasing children's participation in the labor force.⁴¹

Secondly, in order to decrease the non-economic utility of children, members of the family must be able to identify external sources of roles and satisfaction which can deflect their behavior into non-familial

The major finding in most demographic research in this area has been that an increase in women's participation in the labor force has significantly altered their choices to postpone marriages, to reduce the level of illegitimacy, to raise the age of marriage, to delay marital childbearing, and to decrease family size.⁴³

Legislative behavior, in order to expedite these social and economic forces, is apparent. Increasing compulsory education for children and women's participation in the non-familial labor force are the two major tools available.

The Congress of Micronesia has not attempted to legislate directly on these matters. However, throughout the period 1963 to 1972 there was support for increasing educational opportunities for children through Headstart programs, earlier entrance into primary school (setting the age at 6 years), and expansion of facilities for schooling beyond the eighth grade. Moreover, the Congress of Micronesia never established policy guidelines for improving women's statuses in non-familial economic development. Nevertheless, there was no attempt to withhold support for general human resources development by which women may compete equally for scholarships and seek non-familial employment opportunities.

For example, the Congress of Micronesia can legislate on an increase in the minimum age of marriage in order to support population policy in favor of both extended compulsory education and increased women's participation in the labor force. However, the effects of these

exogenous changes, supported by the Congress, on family members' behavior toward lower levels of fertility should be realized during the 1970s if other means, as specified by Hauser and Berelson, are integrated into a comprehensive population policy, favoring declining rates of fertility, of the Congress.

G. Other Social and Economic Considerations

1. Economic Development

Davis has specified several social and economic causes for postponement of marriage: housing shortage, unemployment, overseas military service, education costs, and inadequacy of consumer services.⁴⁴ It is most unlikely that some of these specifications are desired by policy-makers. For this reason, legislative behavior in attempting to provide low-cost housing, eliminate widespread unemployment, allow overseas military service, decrease education costs for families, and remove inadequacy of consumer services is contradictory to Davis' goal of postponement of marriage.⁴⁵

In the case of low-cost housing, the Congress of Micronesia has acted to increase housing opportunities for Micronesians. The Senate Interim Committee's Report to the Senate (submitted in February 1967) states:

"During its visits to the districts, your Committee took note of the conditions and inadequacy of local houses to meet the present and future needs of our expanding population, particularly in and around the district centers."

During the 1st Congress, 3rd Regular Session (July 10-August 8, 1967), Senate Resolution #12 requested the High Commissioner to establish low-cost housing projects. The next year in the 2nd Congress, 4th Regular Session (July 8-August 6, 1968) Senate Resolution #4 requested the High Commissioner to seek \$3,200,000 for housing development in Micronesia. In Speaker Bethwel Henry's opening statement in the House of Representatives at the 3rd Congress, 3rd Regular Session (July 13-August 26, 1970) was a plea to eliminate the "acute shortage of housing" in district centers due to rural, outer island emigration and natural population increase. Finally, originally submitted by Representative Herman Guerrero in January 1971, a House Resolution (Joint Resolution #21) requesting the High Commissioner to provide \$6,000,000 in construction of low-cost housing, was approved during the 4th Congress, 2nd Regular Session (January 10-February 28, 1972).

Secondly, unemployment was another issue in the Congress. House Resolution #29 in the 1st Congress, 2nd Regular Session (July 11-August 9, 1966) requested the Administering Authority to survey the problem of unemployment in Micronesia and to recommend corrective action. More specific, Senate Bill #153, Senate Draft #1 and its Committee Report #164 (from the Committee on Judiciary and Governmental Operations) in the 3rd Congress, 3rd Regular Session (July 13-August 26, 1970) recommended establishment of a workmen's compensation act for Micronesia in order to protect employees against periods of unemployment and a loss of income.

However, during the 4th Congress, 2nd Regular Session (January 10-February 28, 1972) on Koror, Speaker Henry in his opening statement decried the lack of manpower training and development for two major reasons: that "it is wasteful and senseless to see non-Micronesians being imported as lower and middle manpower for fishing and construction operations" and that "in some districts more than 30% of the available labor supply is unemployed."

As a third example, the removal of inadequacy of consumer services concerned the Congress. For example, legislative behavior assumed the need for improvement in transportation services, urban consumer services, such as water supply and electrical power.⁴⁵

The three sets of examples, as well as minimizing education costs for families, are designed to remove causes for decreased levels of fertility. However, very few demographers would recommend otherwise in order to establish minimal conditions of social and economic development before attitudes toward family application of population control can become effective.

2. Urbanization

Nearly all demographic data provided earlier indicate that a general positive correlation exists between urbanization and lower levels of fertility. Even on a few Pacific islands, urban women's level of fertility is less than rural women's.⁴⁶ It is not unlikely that Micronesian urbanization will correlate positively with lower levels of fertility

during the 1970s.

In Norwood's State of the Territory message in the 4th Regular Session (July 12, 1968), there is an awareness of urbanization and its concomitant social changes:

"In larger population centers, value standards and living standards are changing. Patterns of life are adapting to new influences that will shape the social, economic, and political future of these islands."

It is not difficult to accept demographic analysis that urban attitudes and motivation toward family planning will occur in Micronesia too.

3. Outer Island Development

In the same message above, High Commissioner William Norwood commented on the need to develop social and economic policies for "the more remote islands" where population pressures have created greater demands for transportation services, resource development, and sub-district administrative services. During the 4th Regular Session (July 8-August 6, 1968) House Joint Resolution #33 was adopted (August 3) to request the High Commissioner to establish the subdistrict centers for Satawan (in the Mortlocks of Truk) and Tol (in the Faichuk area in the Truk Lagoon). House Resolution #39 (adopted July 23, 1968) recommended establishment of a subdistrict center on Ulithi Atoll in Yap District.

However, in 1971 Congressional discussion included the concept of population change as an obstacle to outer island development. During the 4th Congress, 1st Regular Session (January 11-February 20, 1971)

Senators Bailey Olter and Ambilos Iehsi encouraged their colleagues to reject the Nathan Report recommendation to accelerate population concentration in urban centers in order to establish a large enough labor force for urban center development.

Although both Senators Iehsi and Lanwi emphasized the need for marine resource development for the outer islands, Lanwi added a more basic issue:

"It is not a problem to perceive that the [outer] island is well taken care of by the government.... that isn't the problem--the problem is one of population explosion. So, we can take care of that by using family planning. But, economic development is needed in that island...."

Senate Joint Resolution #20, Senate Draft #1, stressing the need to establish a comprehensive outer island development policy was adopted.

It is obvious that a few Congressmen are aware of the consequences of population change on government policies and programs, but there has been no concerted effort to develop a population policy that can be incorporated into Congressional stances.

4. Ebeye

Of particular interest was legislative behavior regarding development of the outer island of Ebeye, Kwajalein Atoll. In the Senate Interim Committee's Report to the Senate, 1967, special emphasis was given to Ebeye. Much criticism was directed at the lack of administrative assistance to provide "overcrowded" Ebeye with adequate housing, public

services, economic development and land use policies. House Joint Resolution #19 (in the 3rd Regular Session, July 10-August 8, 1967) stressed the need to recover land occupied by the Coast Guard station because "the growing population of Ebeye has created exhaustive demands on the already limited land area of Ebeye."

Apparently, the Congress was dissatisfied with administrative progress from 1967 to 1972 to develop Ebeye, and during the 4th Congress, 2nd Regular Session (January 10-February 28, 1972) House Bill #192 directly attempted to provide \$200,000 from the Congress of Micronesia General Fund for the Kwajalein Atoll Development Fund. Representative Charles Domnick of the Marshalls reiterated the persistent complaint of overcrowdedness and its effect on residents on Ebeye and recommended that a nearby island called Carlson could be used as a relocation base for the Coast Guard station.

It is unfortunate that the consideration for Ebeye development lacked a solution for population pressures based on fertility control. The same logic used by Senator Lanwi can easily be specifically applied to Ebeye.

H. Approaches Via Political Channels and Organizations

Currently there is no United States A.I.D. assistance for family planning in Micronesia. Neither is there any private organization assistance from groups such as International Planned Parenthood Federa-

tion. No Congressional request for fertility control has been forwarded to the United Nations. Neither has the South Pacific Commission been directly approached by the Congress of Micronesia to provide advice on population control.

It is not recommended that Micronesia adopt a zero population growth policy at this time, but Davis' comment on changes in values about family size is timely and appropriate: that it is now necessary to consider the ultimate goal of zero-growth, that the main thrust of population policies should be to change values about family size rather than simply to meet existing demands, and that family planning programs, while desirable as means, may divert attention from the primary goal of changing the social situation which motivates high fertility.⁴¹

VI. CONCLUSIONS

Legislative behavior in the Congress of Micronesia from 1963 to 1972, in terms of a comprehensive population policy, is contradictory. Certain policies and programs sponsored by the Congress are designed to lower levels of fertility, especially in the realm of encouraging macro-cosmic social and economic planning and development of urban centers. However, many other legislative behaviors lack an understanding of incentive and disincentive programs for fertility control and tend to encourage higher levels of fertility.

It should have been apparent that a bias in this paper has been given favoring fertility control, simply because the ultimate goal of population stability will have to be accepted by the Congress of Micronesia. This specific attitude is only embryonic at this time, but it is likely that by the late 1970s legislative behavior shall include a deeper understanding, awareness and appreciation for a population policy. Initial steps can be recommended:

- (1) The Family Planning Association of Fiji has already assisted Tonga, the Samoas, the Cook Islands, the Gilbert & Ellice Islands, and other neighboring island territories, "with a view to establishing a grouping of South West Pacific territories in suitable form within the International Planned Parenthood Federation."⁴² The Congress of Micronesia should request assistance such that its territory can become a member of an even larger grouping of Pacific islands.

- (2) The voluntary, "go-slow" clinic approach in Micronesia should be altered such that family planning, as recommended by the 1967 Senate Interim Committee's Report to the Senate, be given higher priority through greater diffusion of information to Micronesians.
- (3) The Congress should then establish a special Joint Committee on Population Planning to establish criteria and programs for a population policy, such as those offered by Hauser and Berelson. It is to be expected that different districts will have assumptions different from those used in this paper. The Congress should then resolve that each district legislature establish its own special committees on population planning.
- (4) However, most of all, the Congress must study and understand the relationship between population and law. As Lyons as aptly stated, "...it is felt that eventual legal reforms will be impossible without an adequate knowledge of what existing laws are, and how these laws relate to other facts relevant to the population question, such as policy and programs."⁴³

The Congress of Micronesia has only just begun to understand its role in determining a social, economic, and political future for its people. It has also only begun to question itself about the relationship between legislative behavior and directions in population policy. During the 1970s it shall become an even more obvious reality that Micronesia's population growth acts as an obstacle for other developmental

programs and without some curtailment of this accelerating demographic change, these obstacles may become active negative influences on the total welfare of the islands.

FOOTNOTES

1. During the late 1940s and early 1950s the crude birth rate of Micronesia ranged around 30 births per 1000 persons per year, and during the late 1960s the rate fluctuated around 35 births per 1000 persons per year. From the late 1940s to late 1950s the crude death rate dropped from approximately 11-17 deaths per 1000 persons per year to 5-6 persons. During the 1960s the average annual crude death rate stabilized within the range of 5-6 persons per 1000 persons.

2. An age-specific birth rate (ASBR) indicates the number of births to the total number of women of a specific age group in any one year, divided by that total number of women, multiplied by 1000 as a constant.

3. The infant mortality rate (IMR) is measured as the number of infant deaths below age of 1 year in any calendar year, divided by the total number of livebirths of that same year, multiplied by 1000 as a constant.

4. According to Butz, an increase in urban migration may have several demographic effects, including an increase in delayed marriages, an increase in delay in childbearing, and a decrease in family size. William Butz, Research and Information Strategies to Improve Population Policy in Less Developed Countries, February 1972, p. 33. The relationship between urbanization and levels of fertility shall be discussed in length in a later section of this paper.

5. Peter Pirie, Professor of Geography and Research Associate in the East-West Center Population Institute, in a lecture in Pacific Islands Program 390, "Change in Micronesia", University of Hawaii, Fall Semester, 1970.

6. Kingsley Davis, "Population Policy: Will Current Programs Succeed?", Science, Vol. 158, No. 3802, November 1967, p. 731.

7. L.P. Chow, "Population Planning in Asia and the Pacific: Current Problems and Future Outlook", paper prepared for the Second International Conference on the Problems of Modernization in Asia and the Pacific, East-West Center, July 1970, p. 23.

8. J. Gilbert Hardee and Lyle Saunders, "Population and Development Planning: Rationale and Functions of a Population Planning Unit", paper presented for Second Asian Population Conference, Tokyo, November 1972, pp. 4-5.

9. Bernard Berelson, "Population Policy: Personal Notes", Population Studies, Vol. 25, No. 2, July 1971, p. 173.

10. For example, if we define for this paper the simplistic structure of government as executive, legislative, and judicial branches, then it is obvious that any branch can help determine population policy. In the United States the executive branch authorized formation of the Commission on Population Growth and the American Future. It recommended a national policy to enhance the lives and opportunities for all Americans by curbing population growth and by improving health, educational, social and other services. Secondly, the legislative branch provides the legal basis for programs in such health, educational, social and other services to exist. Lastly, on January 22, 1973 the U.S. Supreme Court extended to coverage of abortions the privacy doctrine founded in the 14th Amendment's concept of personal liberty.

11. The Council of Micronesia was in existence between 1965. Its proceedings shall be utilized to detect its population policy. U.S. Department of the Interior Order No. 2882, September 28, 1964, "Legislative Authority for the Congress of Micronesia, Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands", created the Congress for commencement in 1965.

12. Kusaie and Ebeye also have large populations although they are not district centers.

13. Frank Notestein, "Problems of Policy in Relation to Areas of Heavy Population Pressure", Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, Vol. 22, October 1944, p. 439.

14. Thomas Lyons, Jr., "Family Planning and the Law", War on Hunger, Vol. V, No. 12, December 1971, p. 10.

15. Hope T. Eldridge, "Population Policies", International Encyclopedia of the Social Science, Vol. 12, 1968, p. 387. This point of view is adequately supported in the following sources: Davis, pp. 731-732; Bernard Berelson, "Beyond Family Planning", Studies in Family Planning, No. 38, February 1969, pp. 1-13; Chow, pp. 23-25; and Philip M. Hauser, "Population Policies Affecting Fertility--Sociological Perspective on Family Planning Programs", paper invited for International Union for the Scientific Study of Population (IUSSP), Belgium, August 1973, p. 8.

16. W.D. Borrie, "Population Policies and the State: From Expansion to Control", Chapter 10, The Growth and Control of World Population, 1970, p. 226.

17. Judith Blake, "Demographic Science and the Redirection of Population Policy", paper prepared for Symposium: Research Issues in Public Health and Population Change, University of Pittsburgh, June 1964, p. 1.

18. This specific recommendation can also be found in the following sources: United Nations Population Division, The Determinants and Consequences of Population Trends, 1953, pp. 88-89; Andrew Collver and Eleanor Langlois, "The Female Labor Force in Metropolitan Areas: An International Comparison", Economic Development and Cultural Change, X, July 1962, pp. 381-384; A.J. Jaffe and K. Azumi, "The Birth Rate and Cottage Industries in Underdeveloped Countries", Economic Development and Cultural Change, IX, October 1960, pp. 52-63; and Leon Tabah and Raul Samuel, "Preliminary Findings of a Survey on Fertility and Attitudes Toward Family Formation in Santiago, Chile", in Clyde V. Kiser, ed., Research in Family Planning, 1962, pp. 289-291.

19. Hauser, pp. 3-5.

20. Berelson, July 1971, p. 180. See Appendix A for his specific proposals presented early in 1969.

21. C.E. Sayers, "Second South Pacific Conference", South Pacific Commission Quarterly Bulletin, 3(2), April 1953, pp. 3-4.

22. The writer has been unable to determine who represented this delegation.

23. Council of Micronesia, Proceedings, 3rd Session, 1963.

24. Council of Micronesia, Proceedings, 4th Session, 1963.

25. Congress of Micronesia, Journal of the Senate, 3rd Congress, 2nd Regular Session, p. 15.

26. Delegate Bill #5 (discussed July 15, 1965) attempted to place a permanent medical officer with adequate supplies and facilities on any island with 500 or more persons. House Resolution #37 (adopted August 2, 1968) requested the High Commissioner to send 1-2 graduate nurses for Ulithi Atoll in staff positions. It stated that Ulithi's resident population of 500 and 320 Outer Islands High School students needed proper medical resources. House Joint Resolution #57 (adopted August 27, 1969) requested the High Commissioner and the Public Health Commissioner to assign one medical officer to Tol in the Truk Lagoon on a permanent basis. House Resolution #16 (adopted August 8, 1969) requested the High Commissioner to assign a permanent medical officer on Rota.

27. Members were Senators Isaac Lanwi, Hiroshi Ismael, David Ramarui, and Francisco Palacios. All four signed the Committee Report #6.

28. Members were Senators Andon Amaraich, Olympia Borja, Petrus Tun, Ambilos Iehsi, and Lazarus Salii.

29. Members were John Mangefel, J. Sigrah, Masauo Nakayama, Ekpap Silk, and Fidel Atalig.

30. On July 12, 1968 in his opening statement to the Congress, 4th Regular Session, High Commissioner William Norwood stressed the need for hospital construction to keep pace with the growing population. Earlier, House Resolution #67 in the 1st Congress, 3rd Regular Session (July 10-August 8, 1967) requested the High Commissioner to include in the Capital Improvement Budget construction of an additional wing at Dr. Torres Hospital on Saipan. Later, House Resolution #29 in the 4th Regular Session (July 8-August 6, 1968) was adopted in support of needed construction of a new hospital on Yap Island. Similar actions were taken for Ponape and Moen Islands.

31. For example, House Resolution #38 (adopted August 2, 1968) requested improvement of Yap District's Outer Islands High School. Also House Joint Resolution #78, House Draft #1 (August 23, 1970), in its request to build a secondary school for Southern Namoneas in the Truk Lagoon, stated that more than 90% of the 8th grade students in that area are unable to attend the 9th grade due to lack of facilities and that the population density was high in that area.

32. This relationship is discussed in Lyons, December 1971, p. 10.

33. Mirrlees argues that taxation on births and a direct reversal of tax benefits may produce unexpected results in family size. His data allowed him to conclude that the "uncertainty about family size is a reason for not recommending grave penalties for those who exceed whatever is thought to be the ideal size". James Mirrlees, "Population Policy and the Taxation of Family Size", Journal of Public Economics, 1(1972), p. 194.

34. Lyons, 1971, p. 10.

35. Eldridge, p. 382.

36. High Commissioner Norwood approved Public Law 4-25 on September 24, 1968 to declare certain public lands on Rota as agricultural homestead lands. Senate Resolution #50 in the 3rd Congress, 1st Regular Session (January 13-27, 1969) sought to return public land to private homesteading

on Ponape, especially in the Kolonia area "where everything is crammed into a small area", according to Senator Bailey Olter on January 17, 1969. The High Commissioner approved Public Law 3C-64 (Senate Bill #147, Senate Draft #1 from the 3rd Congress, 3rd Regular Session, from July 13-August 26, 1970) declaring certain public lands in Sugar King Estate area on Saipan as village homesteading lands.

37. Chow, p. 30; Peter Morrison, "Population Distribution Policy: Issues and Objectives", paper prepared for Population Association of America, May 1972, pp. 20-21.

38. Ronald Freedman and John Takeshita, Family Planning in Taiwan: An Experiment in Social Change, 1969, p. 358.

39. Davis, p. 738.

40. This is similar, although not congruent, to increasing economic disutility, or liability, of children.

41. Paul Schultz, The Economics of Population Policy: A Neglected Field of Priority Research, April 1971, p. 2; and Butz, p. 35.

42. Mirrlees, p. 170.

43. Footnote #18 lists four references on this point. Others include: Blake, 1964; Davis, 1967, p. 737; Freedman and Takeshita, 1969, p. 371; Chow, 1970, p. 27; Schultz, 1971, p. 2; and Butz, 1972, p. 28.

44. Davis, p. 737.

45. Road Systems: Senate Resolution #4 (3rd Congress, 1st Regular Session, January 13-27, 1969) for Koror; and Senate Bill #114 (3rd Congress, 2nd Regular Session, July 14-August 27, 1969) for Ponape Island.

Harbors Development: Delegate Joint Resolution #9 (1st Regular and Special Sessions, July 12-August 11, 1965) for improvement of all docking and harbor facilities in Micronesia. Many other bills and resolutions attempted to establish Majuro as an entry port.

Ship Services: House Resolution #38 (4th Regular Session, July 8-August 6, 1968) for Pagan; House Resolution #50 (same as above) for Palau District; House Resolution #51 (same as above) for Truk District; Senate Resolution #26 (same as above) for Ponape District, including Ujelang; Special Committee Report #6 from Joint Committee on Shipping (3rd Congress, 3rd Regular Session, July 13-August 26, 1970) for territory-wide inter- and intra-district shipping.

Airport Construction: Senate Joint Resolution #13 (1st Congress, 2nd Regular and Special Sessions, July 11-August 14, 1966) for DC-4 type landing facility in Ponape District; and Senate Joint Resolution #5 (2nd Congress, 4th Regular Session, July 8-August 6, 1968) for Kusaie airfield construction.

Urban Electricity and Water Supply: Delegate Joint Resolution #11 (1st Regular and Special Sessions, July 12-August 10, 1965) for urban capital improvement; House Resolution #30 and House Resolution #31 (3rd Regular Session, July 10-August 8, 1967) for surveys on water systems and electrical services, respectively, for all population centers; Senate Resolution #19 (same as above) for water supply sources and storage for Ponape Island; House Resolution #8 (same as above) for water storage on Majuro; Deputy High Commissioner Martin Mangan's speech on budget (4th Regular Session, on July 17, 1968) to provide public facilities such as water, sewerage and power systems; and House Joint Resolution #16 (same as above) for water study for Kolonia, Ponape.

46. General Pacific: Alexander Spoehr, ed., Pacific Port Towns and Cities, 1963.

Western Samoa: Peter Pirie, and Ward Barrett, "Western Samoa: Population, Production, and Wealth", Pacific Viewpoint, Vol. 3, No. 1, March 1962.

Fiji: Data selected from F.H.A.G. Zwart, Report on the census of the Population, 1966, Suva, 1968; Fiji, Bureau of Statistics, Fiji Population Estimates after the 1966 Population Census, 1970. Also, the Family Planning Association of Fiji, World Population and Planned Parenthood News, Annual Reports, 1970-1972.

New Hebrides: H. Brookfield and Paula Brown Glick, The People of Vila: Report on a Pacific Town, 1969.

New Caledonia: France, Institut national de la statistique et des etudes economiques, Resultats statistiques de recensement general de la population de la Nouvelle Calédonie effectuée le 2 mai 1963, and Resultats statistiques du recensement general de la population de la Nouvelle-Calédonie effectuée en mars 1969.

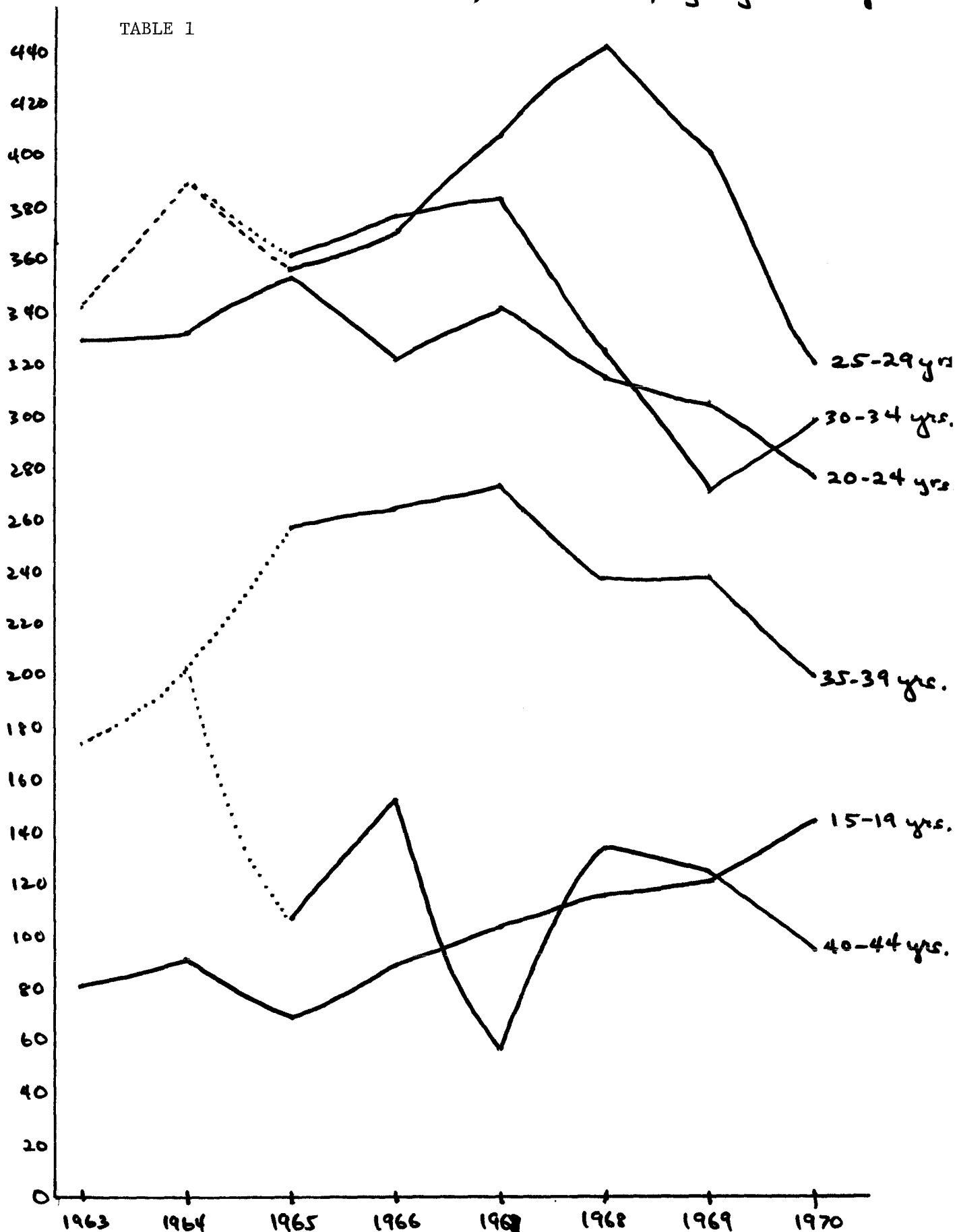
41. Davis, pp. 730-739.

42. Family Planning Association of Fiji, Annual Report 1970, No. 16.

43. Lyons, 1971, p. 11.

ASBR FOR MARIANAS, 1963-1970, by Age-Group

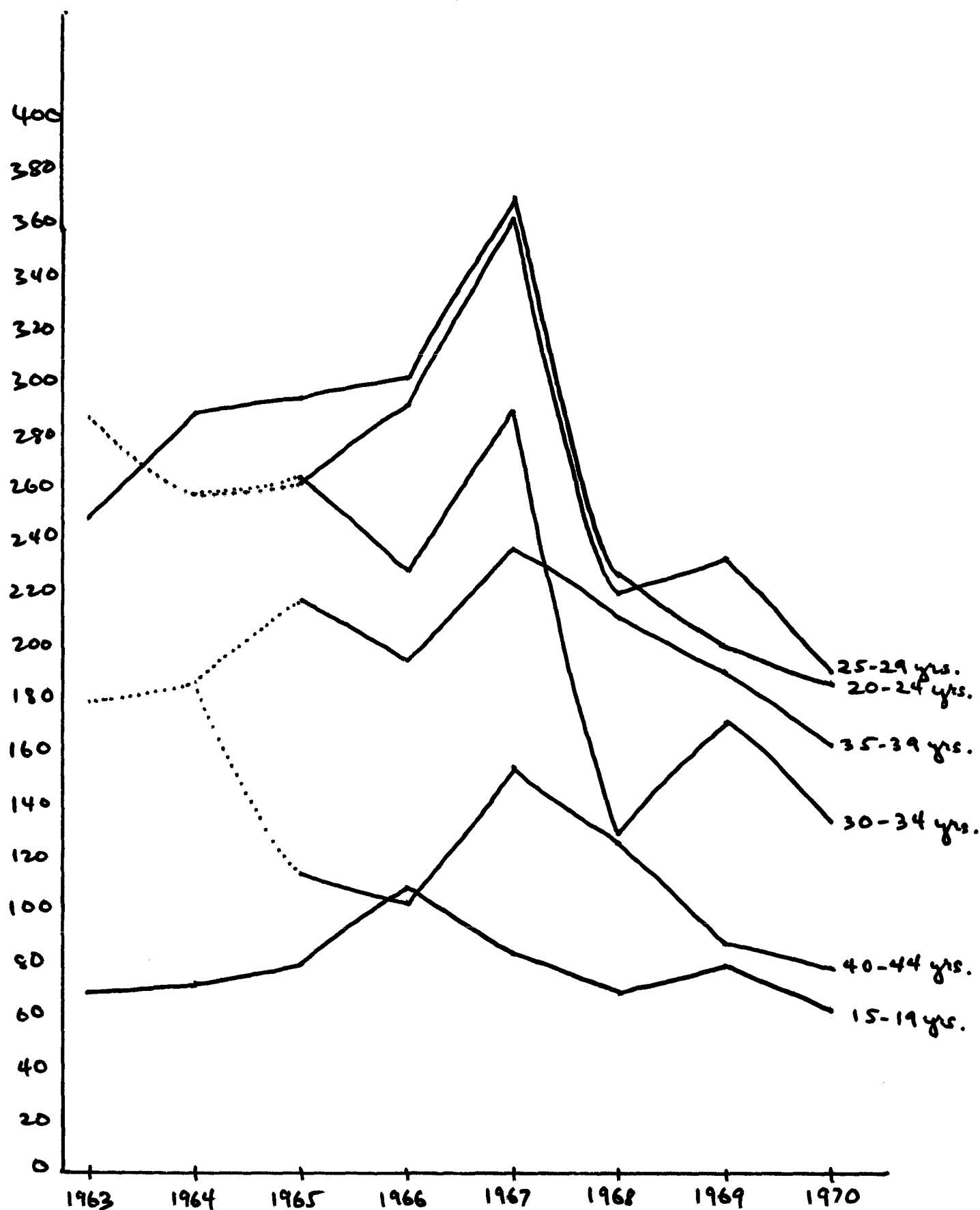
TABLE 1



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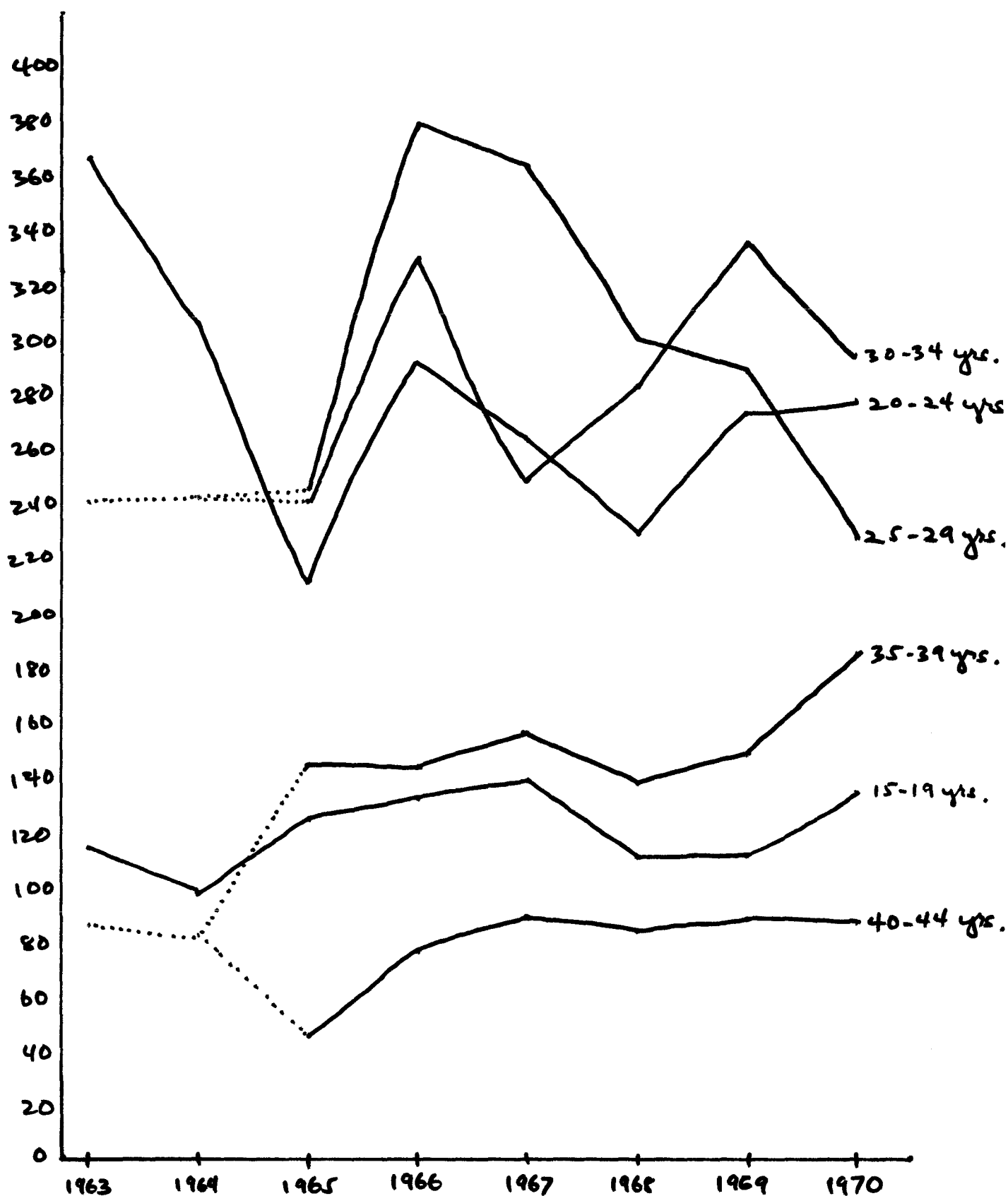
ASBR FOR PALAU, 1963-1970, by Age-Group

TABLE 2



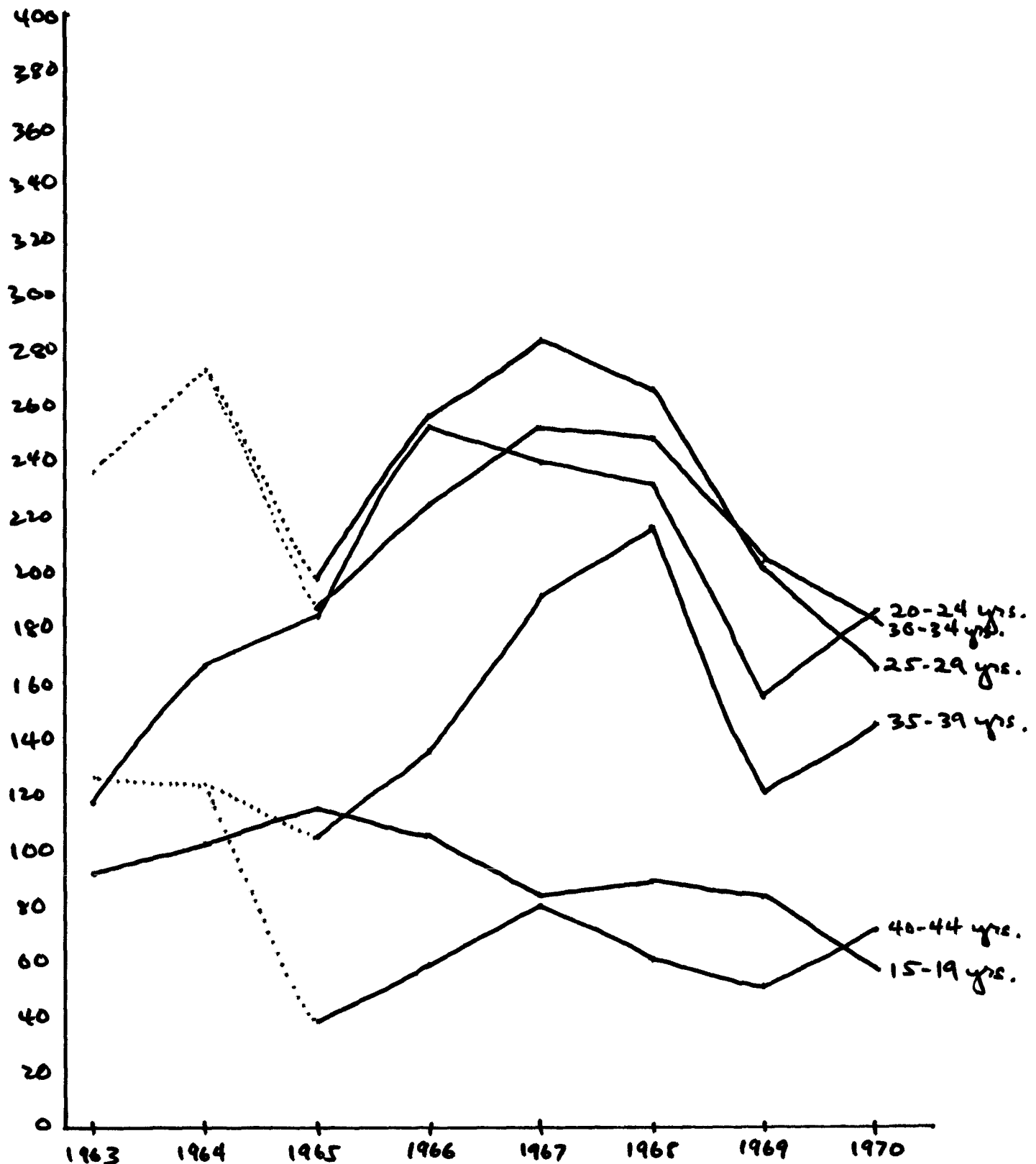
ASBR FOR YAP, 1963-1970, by Age-Group

TABLE 3



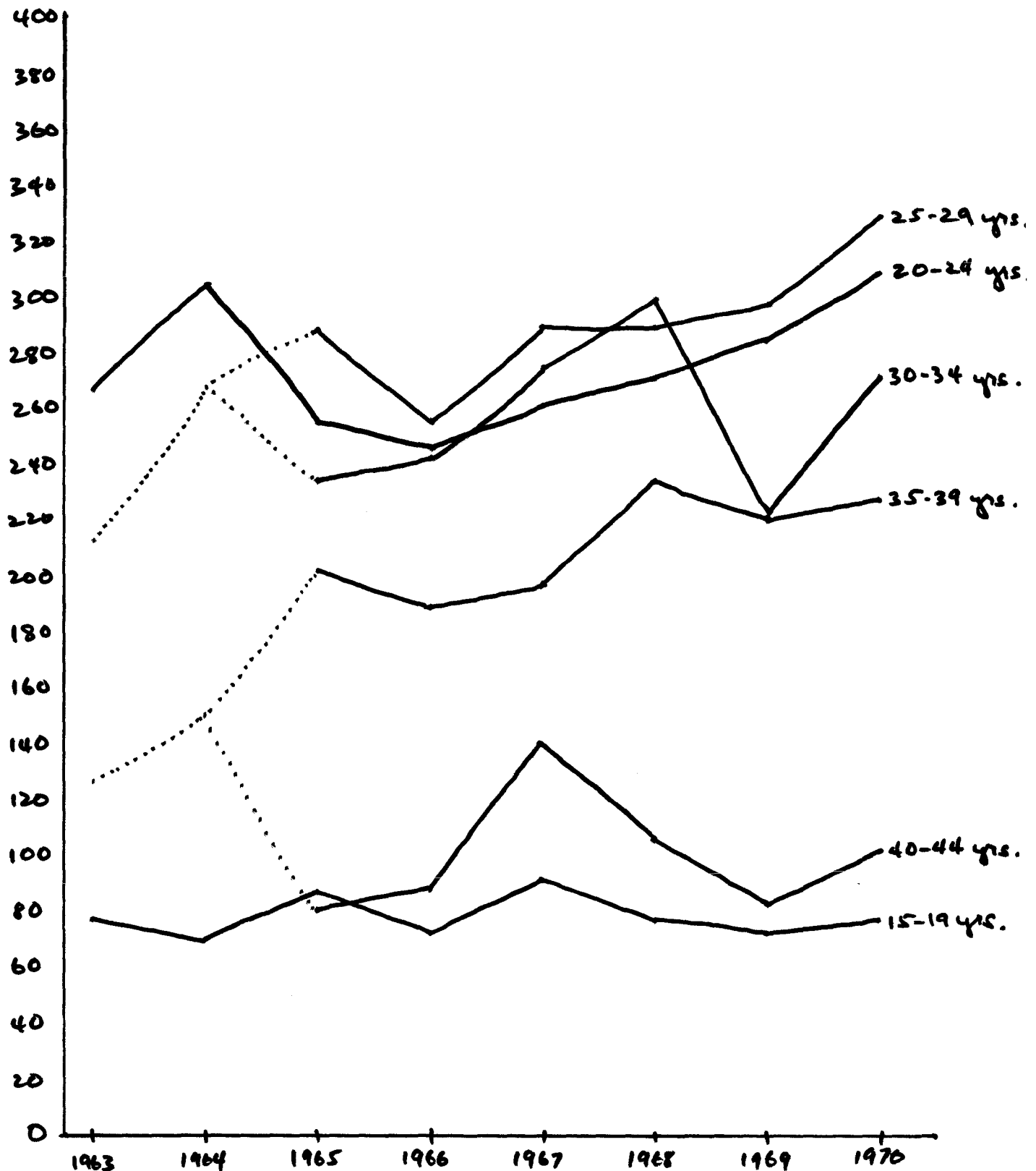
ASBR FOR TRUK, 1963-1970, by Age-Group

TABLE 4



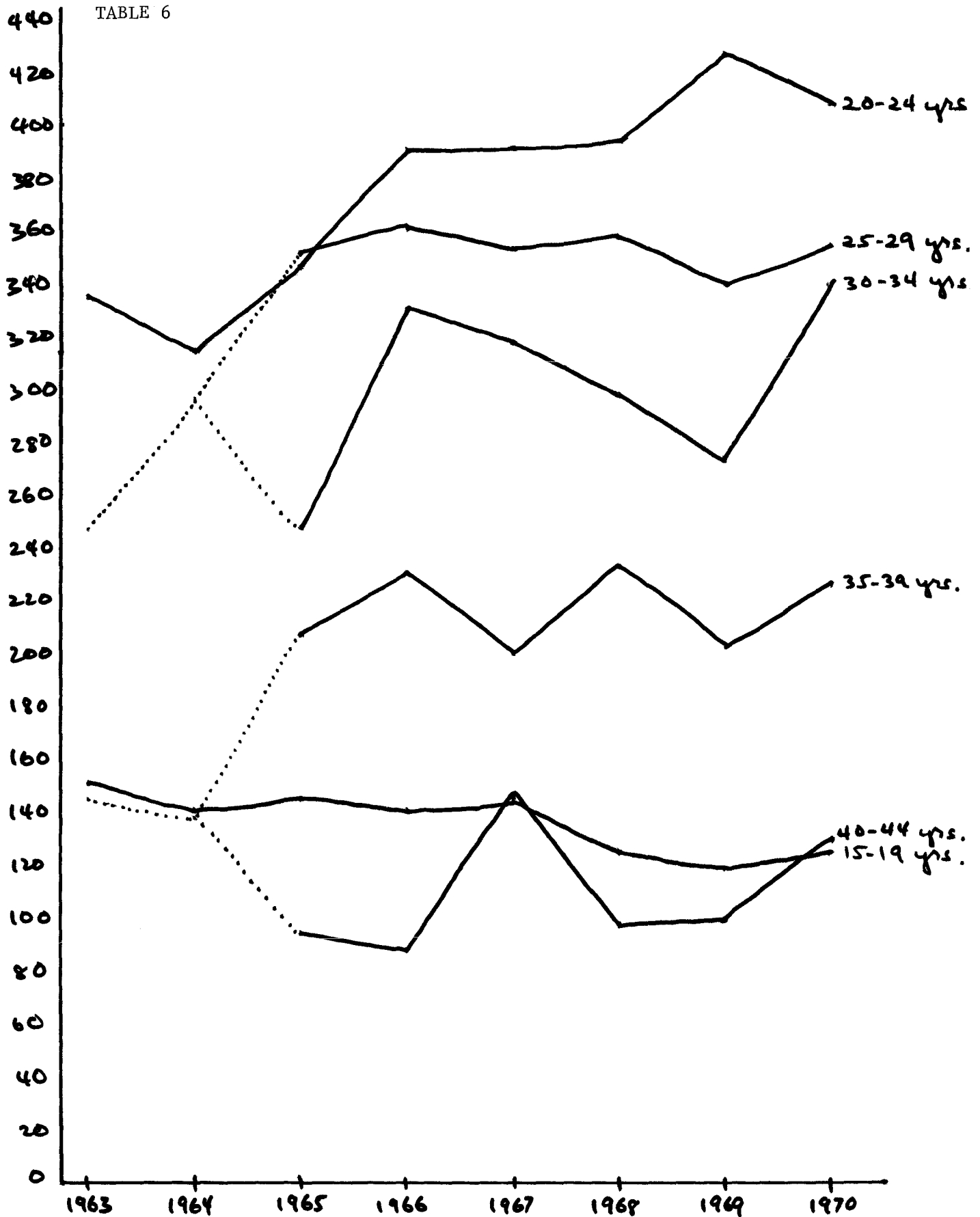
ASBR FOR PONAPE, 1963-1970, by Age-Group

TABLE 5



ASBR FOR MARSHALLS, 1963-1970, by Age-Group

TABLE 6



APPENDIX A: PROPOSALS TO DEAL WITH THE "POPULATION PROBLEM" BEYOND
FAMILY PLANNING PROGRAMS

(extracted from Bernard Berelson, "Beyond Family Planning", Studies in Family Planning, No. 38, February 1969, by the Population Council, pp. 1-13.)

- A. EXTENSIONS OF VOLUNTARY FERTILITY CONTROL
 - 1. Institutionalization of maternal and child health in rural areas
 - 2. Liberalization of induced abortion
- B. ESTABLISHMENT OF INVOLUNTARY FERTILITY CONTROL
 - 1. Coercive governmental action (i.e., water sterilants)
 - 2. Marketable license to have children
 - 3. Required temporary sterilization for women
 - 4. Compulsory female sterilization after a certain number of children, and compulsory male sterilization, required abortion for illegitimate pregnancies
- C. INTENSIFIED EDUCATIONAL CAMPAIGNS
 - 1. Primary/high school
 - 2. Television information
- D. INCENTIVE PROGRAMS
 - 1. Payment to practice contraception
 - 2. Bonus for long childspacing
- E. TAX AND WELFARE BENEFITS AND PENALTIES
 - 1. Withdrawal of maternity benefits
 - 2. Withdrawal of children on family allowances
 - 3. Tax on births after the Nth
 - 4. Limitation of governmentally provided medical treatment, housing, scholarships, loans and subsidies, etc. to families with fewer than N children
 - 5. Reversal of tax benefits, to favor unmarried and parents with few children
 - 6. Provision by the state of N years of free schooling at all levels to each nuclear family
 - 7. Pension for poor parents with fewer than N children as social security for their old age
- F. SHIFTS IN SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC INSTITUTIONS
 - 1. Increase in the minimum age of marriage
 - 2. Increase in women's participation in labor force
 - 3. Restructuring of the family system

G. APPROACHES VIA POLITICAL CHANNELS AND ORGANIZATIONS

1. U.S. A.I.D. with population control strings
2. Development of international agencies linked with a country with family planning in mind
3. Promotion of zero population growth goals

H. AUGMENTED RESEARCH EFFORTS

1. More research on social means for achieving fertility goals
2. Research on practical means of sex determination
3. Increased contraceptive technology

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